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an arrow in the form of a hornet. She was revived by dyoi', who killed ma/či'. The spirit of ma/či' is in heaven today, where, as soon as the souls of the incestuous arrive, it assaults them. It is then that one hears the muted humming of the hornets of ma/či'.[1]

Incest is considered, in the first place, to be a sin against the goddess ta-ë', who, according to one version of the legend (p. 114) gave to the first men knowledge of their clans by means of jacuruxy broth, which she sent them from heaven. To a man guilty of incest she said: "Thou art corrupting the people!" and punished him in life with madness, giving him the soul of an animal. After death, when his soul succeeded in passing unharmed through the poles of the gate to/ri'ta and arrived at the house of ta-ë', she loosed upon him two monsters (čorë'ruma), which tore him to pieces.[2]

An incestuous act committed casually but not repeated is strongly censured and ridiculed, the guilty one being labeled an "*e'pi*," although this offense does not expose him permanently to collective scorn to the point of exclusion from social activities. After his death, ta-ë' will send the two čorë'ruma to lick his soul from head to toe, thus cleansing it of the sin it bears so that it may be received like any other soul.

Prolonged and public incest causes horror and repugnance, constituting a disgrace and intolerable shame for the relatives and, like similarly prohibited unions, may result in blood tragedies. A man named čiëë formed an incestuous alliance with the daughter of his paternal uncle and had several children by her. One day, when he had appeared at a celebration of one dya'iva, his nephew, the latter accused him to his face of the sin. In a fury čiëë threatened his nephew with a machete, but dya'iva killed him with one shot. His partner in incest fled with her offspring and was never seen again.

During my stay among the Tukuna of Igarapé Taeana in June, 1941, the following incident occurred. An Indian named Abilio murdered a woman and her suckling babe, "naturally" because of jealousy, said the Neobrazilians. The real reason, however, was this: Abilio's father-in-law, Joaquim tauaru' of the a'i clan, some fifty years old and several times a grandfather, began to maintain sexual relations with a daughter of his deceased brother. His wife and her son Moáca did everything to dissolve this union, but Joaquim tauaru' paid no attention to anyone, turning furious if anyone discussed the situation. As is the custom among Indians, the affair took a long time to reach the boiling point, which happened only after the girl had a child. It was then that Moáca and his mother, who had left the house in disgust and had fallen gravely ill, decided to put an end to this shameful state of affairs. As the offender's son, Moáca was loth to take action personally and so persuaded his brother-in-law, Abilio, of the same clan as Joaquim tauaru''s wife, to kill the girl and her infant. Abilio lured her to a secluded spot in the igapó, stunned her and the child with blows of his paddle and finished them off with his machete, tied the two bodies together, and threw them into the river. The bodies were discovered a little farther down, near the riverbank; the Indians immediately understood what had occurred, but their Neobrazilian boss in Belém also received

[1] See the legends, "The Dishonor of mava'ča," and "dyoi' and e'pi Kill the Demon ma/či'," pp. 124–125.

[2] See the legends relating to ta-ë', pp. 114–115.

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VIII. LIFE CYCLE

Pregnancy

After intercourse, conception depends on the will of the goddess ta-ë': it is she who gives the fetus its body and soul. When, overburdened with tasks, ta-ë' grows careless, the child is born with defects in mind or body. 842 [776]

We have already noted (pp. 22 and 46) the effects of a pregnant woman's intrusion in a clay pit or at maize planting, but on the whole there are few restrictions for her. She eats peppers lest the fetus become too fat, which would complicate birth; she eats the tripes of the alligator (jacaré-tinga) so that the child shall be born with a clear skin; and drinking the water of the *cipó barí* during pregnancy produces the same effect, as does staring at persons of white skin. Whoever eats double bananas will have only daughters. A real diet during pregnancy appears never to have been prescribed. If a girl is bitten by a type of ant called kaë'na, she will subsequently have children of a dark complexion. 843 [825]

Voluntary abortion.—A woman sometimes produces abortion in order to avoid the shame of having a "disqualified" child, i.e., one that belongs to no clan because its father is a Neobrazilian. Thus, an Indian girl named Neca, of the Rio Jacurapá, finding herself pregnant by a Neobrazilian, confessed her condition to her mother; both then concealed the affair from the girl's father, whom they feared, because he was a somewhat violent man. When Neca could no longer hide her pregnancy, the mother took her into the garden patch, where she succeeded in aborting the child by treading on the girl's belly. 847

According to legend, after an abortion, the cadaver of the fetus goes to ta-ë', who cooks it in a pot until it disintegrates. When the pan becomes full, the goddess keeps it until the death of the sinner, and thus addresses the soul when it arrives: "Thou hast slain the child I gave thee; now eat of thy property!" The sinful mother must eat the stew to the last morsel, however much she may beg and wail that she can eat no more. 847 775

Twins.—Twins (ta tarë'/pį; tarë, two) are not overly welcome since they increase the mother's work, but they are not killed. I myself knew a married couple in Igarapé de São Jeronymo who had twins; the reason was given me by an Indian, who asserted that the mother, while yet a child, had eaten double bananas. Others simply say that twins are due only to the will of ta-ë'. 845

Birth

When parturition is near, the husband erects a temporary platform close to the ground and hidden in a thicket some thirty paces behind the house. As soon as the pains begin, the woman is conducted there, where her hammock and mosquito bar are rigged up, and a piece of tururí bark cloth is spread over the platform. Her mother, aunt, or eldest sister attends her, the husband remaining in the house. If there are difficulties, a medicine man is sent for; smoking a tauary cigarette, he makes gestures with his hands as if he were opening some invisible object from below. 844 [755]

Blows on the back with the mouth of a manioc press are also recommended in difficult labor. The woman squats on her heels on the platform, with her arms

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844 held behind on the hammock, and the woman assistant embraces her from behind. The umbilical cord is tied with cotton thread and cut with a small sliver of bamboo or canna brava. Even today an iron instrument is not used for this purpose. The wound is lightly cauterized, being touched once or twice with charcoal from a small tree gnawed round in circular fashion by a certain insect. The afterbirth is called na:'ana/(mouth) "because the child in the maternal womb nourishes itself by it"; it is buried at the place of birth.

847 *Infanticide.*—Infanticide immediately after birth occurs, though rarely, and then usually of an unmarried woman's offspring, the child being buried alive. In general, the Tukuna consider it a great sin, which ta-ë' will surely punish. An Indian I knew whose unmarried daughter became pregnant suspected her of planning infanticide and threatened her with death should she carry out her intention. Another reason for infanticide is that the child is "disqualified." For example, when dɔ'tanɨna had a child by a mestizo, the son of a Tukuna woman, her own father did not wish her to raise it, hence she buried it alive. After death an [775] infanticide ascends to heaven with the child's corpse held crosswise in her mouth, "like a bitch carrying her whelp."

842 Many Tukuna fathers show an exaggerated preference for male children, to the detriment of daughters. I once, quite intimately, observed the disgust of a couple with their first-born, merely because it was a girl; they became vexed to the point of planning to kill her some weeks after birth. However, the mother's brother, as protector of his niece, reproached and threatened the couple so unmistakably that they never again dared discuss the subject.

846 856 *After the birth.*—The newborn child's mouth is immediately cleansed and the skull is manipulated, being pressed laterally between the fingers into the proper shape. The infant's body is washed in tepid water, the mother's in hot water. With a little stick a bit of the umbilical blood is rubbed on the child's cheeks so that they may become ruddy, just as a little of the first feces is rubbed on the eyebrows to make them grow thick and black, a feature very much esteemed. The Mongoloid birthmark on the skin of the sacral region is also attributed to these first feces. After the hammock and the mosquito bar are taken down, the platform is knocked apart, the turürí cloth is buried, and the midwife, followed by the mother, carries the child to the house.

751 846 Even before the birth the midwife takes care to scrape genipapo, with which the child is painted from head to toe on the first day, an old custom instituted by the culture hero dyai^ (see p. 128). This is considered an efficient protection against any evil that might befall the newborn infant. It is also the custom to [301] thread small bits of the root of a grass called ma'i^a-arɨ-ĕu'pɨ (*periperỳ* [?], "of otter") as beads, tying them around the child's wrist and hand.

846 Father and mother must be cautious and must diet until the umbilical cord drops off. The mother sallies forth from her mosquito bar only to attend to her necessities and to bathe herself with tepid water; both parents eat only small fish, small birds, bananas, and manioc cakes, avoiding all acid foods. Except for going to the river to bathe, the father may not leave the house grounds, and he is for- [824] bidden to touch a firebrand, a paddle, an ax, or a bow. If he touches his bow, the child will develop a crooked spine and become a hunchback.

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IV. MAGIC AND RELIGION

The Shaman

According to Bates, each Tukuna band "obeys [†] a chief of more or less influence, according to his energy and ambition, and possesses its pagé or 'medicine-man' who fans their superstitions."[1] The impression I had was that magical knowledge constituted a prerequisite for the office of chief, but very few of those who have this knowledge show at the same time the necessary qualifications for the post. Today not one chief remains, but there are still shamans of greater or less efficiency and prestige; and since this job represents no public function but rather a personal and private one, there are bands with more than one shaman. The Tukuna term for shamans is dyʊ'vi̱ta. The origin of their art is given as follows.

> When auə̈'mana was two years old, she used to cry a great deal during the night. Her mother became angered by this and expelled her from the house, closing the door. auə̈'mana wept alone in the yard the whole night until a *cunaũaré* toad[2] came and carried her off. She remained in his company until she became a young girl, learning from him all the magical arts, from killing to curing by suction. Later she returned to live among men in order to practice magic. Many learned the art she taught; theretofore magic was unknown.
>
> auə̈'mana grew very old and, when her physical strength deserted her, she asked some girls to prepare her food; but these refused because they did not like her. Then during the night, while they were sleeping, auə̈'mana extracted their leg bones from their bodies. The next morning they saw her seated beside her fire eating the marrow of the bones, since this was her only food. However, the girls could no longer get up.
>
> When this became widely known, the people slew auə̈'mana, cutting her neck with a stone knife. She caught the blood that ran down in her cupped hand, blew it toward the sun, and said: "ʊ:u ta'ta pö gi̱ na ãe'i pö ãʊ a'ə̈ə̈!" ["The soul enter into thee, also!"] Since then, the soul of a victim enters the body of the killer.

This legend shows that between the sorcerer who inflicts disease and the curing shaman who removes disease, there is not that essential difference to which Tessmann refers.[3] According to him, the Tukuna name for the curer[4] is "dyo'wue'" and for the sorcerer "nokewue," a name which I have never heard and cannot explain. Once in a great while I have heard the sorcerer called dyʊv̱ḵ, but ḵ means only "person," and in general the term dyʊ'vi̱ta is employed for both kinds of shaman. The shaman may kill one person and cure another. The fact that he possesses, among other magical attributes, the power of *espinhos*, "thorns," does not mean that these are all he uses; on the other hand, if he does not possess this power, he may acquire it at any time. One may constantly observe that among the Tukuna no shaman is ever free from suspicion.

Source of power.—Magical powers of the shamans stem from their relations with tree spirits (nai[a] ar̨i ma:'ṅ). These trees have nothing to do with those whose souls (naa'ë), as we have seen (p. 57), roam the night in the form of a spotted jaguar, puma, dog, or agouti. Luckily, not all trees have spirits; otherwise, clearings could not be made, since the planter must spare spirits' trees on pain of being shot by

[1] Bates, p. 401.
[2] *Hyla venulosa*; T., ə̈'pivə̈.
[3] Tessmann, pp. 562, 563.
[4] The word used is *curados*, but the sense indicated is *curandeiro*, "curer."—Trans.
[5] T., dyʊ'vi̱ta; see above.—Trans.

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lateral hole, a little below the tip. It was so described to me by Nino, who had seen one used by old Romão. I myself never got to see one.

Soul loss.—We have already seen (p. 101) how the spirits of the trees may cause disease, not only at the request of a sorcerer but also spontaneously. In addition, there are still two categories of disease: those caused by soul loss and those caused by epidemics of post-Columbian origin. The tree spirits kidnap the souls of the living, but apparently only those of children, as do the aquatic demon dyẽ'vaẽ and the ghosts of the defunct (načii'). For this purpose they whistle and call a child by name when the soul accompanies it by night through the jungle.

Nino told me how the soul of his daughter, ñua'čina, had been stolen when the child was being given a bath in the igarapé. As a result, she became pallid and weak and, had not the shaman Thomaz intervened, she would have died. At nightfall he sang, as the child lay in her mother's arms; he blew smoke over her from heel to head and in the opposite direction, then placed the extinct cigarette butt below the nape of her neck and went to sleep. At midnight he awoke and inquired about the child's condition. She was already nursing again, and her eyes were normal. He then ordered the parents to suspend the cigarette butt from her neck until it should fall of its own accord.

When a child under two years of age cries alone, the shades of the dead arrive and carry off its soul. A shaman may force its return to the body again by the process described above, but the danger is that the soul may have already tasted the food of the shades. In this event, the child begins to eat earth, coal, and so forth, and always dies sooner or later.

Cure of epidemics.—Epidemics come from the sun, where their presence is indicated by a greenish aureole. Without the sun's desire they are carried off by the wind, which spreads them among men. On the occasion of a serious epidemic of catarrh, a certain shaman called the people together, collected the invisible pathogenic substance from each, placed it in an urn, and rendered it harmless by smoking.

Dreams.—During a dream, the soul (naa'ẽ) abandons the body and has its own adventures, which are real and may be of great consequence. Through dreams the shaman acquires his spirit assistant, gets in touch with the tree spirit, or identifies the sorcerer responsible for a patient's illness or death. We have seen how an injury to the soul of a warlock in a dream ex[illegible]ion caused the warlock's death. Some adventures of the soul in dreams are warnings of things to come in the near future. If a bank subsides or a tree falls on a person in a dream, it is because others plot against him. If he sees himself painted with genipapo, this means blood and that he will be murdered. An encounter with a jaguar in a dream indicates the arrival of a companion or of a member of the čiva' (jaguar) clan, whereas the visit of an Auahy clan member is announced by a dream of a snake. If the snake turns aggressive, however, disease is on the way.

Female witchcraft.—Contrary to what Tessmann was told, there are no female magicians in contact with tree spirits or capable of causing death or of removing the spells put on others. What can happen is this: a woman, in order to injure the object of her hatred, plucks a few of her victim's hairs, which she places in an ant nest. Or she ties them to some branches on the riverbank where their seesaw

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Nino and Christovão did not stop at home but, without eating or speaking to anyone, immediately left together on a hurried trip to Igarapé de Belém in search of a certain shaman for the purification the situation demanded. Hippolyto, however, weak from his long illness, arrived home so exhausted that he was again prostrated for days, incapable of following his uncles. The latter, after battling the strong currents of the Solimões all day, entered the Igarapé de Belém on the seventh. They should not have eaten anything before submitting to the purification rite, but their strength began to fail them, so they comforted themselves with a little farinha d'agua they had, eating it with spoons fashioned from leaves in order to prevent the soul (naa'ẽ) of the murdered man from entering their bodies with the food. If they had shed blood, they would also have used a stick to scratch with, instead of their fingernails, since, if blood is shed, the slayer's body becomes full of invisible blood. They did not converse during the trip, but spoke occasionally to a tree or to an ant nest as if these were people, saluting and taking leave of them and leaving them a bit of food, as if they were members of the family. Had they not followed such procedure, the soul of the slain would have entered the body of someone in the slayer's family.

Finally, they approached the residence of the shaman Geraldo, of the ṅɔ|' clan (red macaw clan), whom Nino as a member of the same moiety addressed as ma'i''ẽ, "brother" (p. 59). Showing themselves to him from afar and signaling, they made Geraldo realize that something extraordinary had happened, so he immediately went to meet them and asked what had occurred. They answered in a few words in a low voice, and he ordered them to draw the canoe ashore a bit farther ahead. Geraldo, returning to his house, bade his daughters scrape genipapo and prepare food, saying to them: "They did a turn for all of us; they killed our enemy!"

Then he joined the two men, ordered them to squat before him, and, passing his hands over them from the heels to the crown of the head, removed from them the soul of the slain, joined it together in front of them, and hurled it away, saying: "Go away! We have done this to you because you were the enemy of everyone!" Then he gave each man three peppers to eat and finally painted them with genipapo, which he had already brought on top of some leaves. He led them to the house, gave them food, and bade them farewell. Spurred by anxiety for their families, who had been left hiding in their plantations, the two again left for the Igarapé da Rita, where they arrived the morning of June 9.

As stated above, Hippolyto could not accompany the others on the trip they made in order to purify themselves, and he treated himself as best he could. Under these circumstances, the slayer, feeling the dead man's soul squeezing his heart, must for two months drink a brew made from pupunheira root (*Gulielma* sp.).

Meanwhile I was attending a puberty ceremony celebrated in a house half a league up the mouth of the Igarapé da Rita, on the Solimões, where some other guests informed me of the event. After the feast I went down to the settlement of Santa Rita, where the Neobrazilians told me with evident satisfaction that "the Indians of the igarapé had all fled." I at once entered this tributary, where I found all the Indians except the family of old Custodio, who had actually fled but later on returned at my invitation. From place to place the Indians accompanied me, increasing in number at each stop, until we were all gathered at Nino's house,

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754 including the slayers, who had arrived that morning, horribly painted with black
682 from head to foot. The atmosphere was rather anxious, and their satisfaction at seeing me so unexpectedly was obvious, especially on Nino's part; if I had not come, they would have searched for me the following day at Igarapé de São Jeronymo, where I made my headquarters. Calmly and clearly Nino told me what had happened: "We had to do it. But now that it is done I don't want to fool with anyone else, just live in peace," he said. But naturally the case was not closed.

The civilized authorities, though aware of what had happened, made no move, but a brother of the dead man, informed by another relative, came from the outskirts of Belém with his three grown sons in pursuit of the slayers. Strangely enough, the party first came ashore at the place of another brother of Nino and Christovão who lived by himself on the banks of the Solimões, and he immediately sent to warn his kinsman. It is clear that if the sorcerer's brother had come to avenge u'iru's death immediately, he would not have pulled ashore at the house of the murderers' brother.

However, Nino, Christovão, and Hippolyto passed the night together with loaded shotguns and machetes at hand. The night was absolutely dark. About nine o'clock, when I rashly went down to the landing, accompanied by Nino's three sons, we saw slowly approaching from the river a small light, resembling the lighted cigarette of a person silently rowing inshore; it finally stopped. Frightened, the children ran to the house while I went down to the landing, where I discovered that the light was due to a large firefly that had lit on one of the canoes inshore.

I turned back with the insect in my hand, when all the Indians in the house came from all sides to meet me, for they were terrified at my unheard-of audacity. The
[774] point was that the arrival of a sorcerer's soul is announced in the dark by a small
[293] firefly-like light that emanates from the tucum-nut ring the sorcerer, like most Tukuna, wears on his finger. My attitude in abstaining from all criticism or moral
[123] judgment and in accepting the tragedy as a consummated fact visibly cleared the atmosphere and calmed their spirits. When I returned to Igarapé de São Jeronymo on the following day, the situation was almost back to normal.

In fact, until my departure in September nothing untoward occurred. However, I believe that the brother of the murdered u'iru will still try to avenge him at the first opportunity.

Another method of purification.—According to what he himself told me, Calixto
783 daueru'kl, to whom also killers repair for purification, has a method slightly dif-
775 ferent from that of his colleague Geraldo. First he washes the slayer's arms from top to bottom with envira de matamatá. Then he invokes the soul of the slain, by means of a song and tobacco smoke. The dead man's soul, surrounded by the smoke, which it involuntarily swallows, finally crouches down, weak and inoffensive, before the shaman, who covers it with still more smoke and, fanning the smoke, makes the soul disappear. Afterward he paints with genipapo dye only the forearms of the killer. Even with this, however, the dead man's soul is not completely annihilated. Thus, after the death of ču'na, a Peruvian sorcerer who had fled to Brazil, where he was killed by pursuers from his own country, his soul "shot" his brother-in-law with "arrows," a fact recognized by the shaman Airú of Ilha dos Guaribas, who succeeded in curing the sufferer.

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The Upper World

Heaven, the upper world (na:'nẽ), is not the abode of the sun, the moon, or the stars, which are still far beyond it. It is divided into two or perhaps three sections. One is inhabited by men more or less like us, even though the conditions of life there are somewhat different from those on earth. The second is the dwelling place of ta-ẽ' and the souls of the dead (naa'ẽ), with certain exceptions. The third may be the habitation of the king vultures, urubú rei (*Vultur papa*), if these are not perchance merely inhabitants of the first section who are able to transform themselves into birds. Like the souls of the dead, they never return to earth to tell the living about conditions above. It is manifestly impossible for a living person to enter heaven; not even a shaman can do so while dreaming. Hence, knowledge of things there is confined to the experiences of the few human beings who, carried up by celestial girls wishing to marry them, later returned. There is also the story of a sorrowing widower who was borne thither by his wife's soul but who never returned to earth.

Legends of the upper world.—The following legends of the upper world were collected.

The Widower

The wife of an Indian had died. He wept bitterly and could not forget her. Once when he went alone into the jungle to procure his sustenance, he got tired and sat down to rest, remembering how she used to accompany him on the hunt and carry home the monkeys he killed. Then he said, weeping: "A woman like that one I shall never find again!" Thus he was once walking with bowed head, thinking of her. When he raised his eyes, he saw that she had come to meet him. She said she had come to fetch him since he wept so much for her. He was overjoyed to hear this. She bade him shut his eyes and, when she permitted him to open them again, they were already in heaven.

He espied from afar the house of ta-ẽ', which is all of glass. On the road leading to the house there sat a dove (auyakva') which, upon seeing a soul arrive, began to sing: "Tẽ̃ akũ̃ yada'ẽ!" ["Whose son is this who comes this way!"] Then ta-ẽ' ordered all the souls to congregate so that relatives might recognize the newcomer. Everyone wept, and they carried him off with them.

Before one arrives at the point where the dove waits for souls there is a kind of gate (tɔ/ri'ta) formed of two horizontal poles, thick as a pestle, which move constantly one past the other in opposite directions, one to the left, the other to the right. The arriving soul addresses the tɔ/ri'ta: "ɔta' ñci ɛ̃ɔ!" ["Grandfather, open your mouth!"] If the soul has many sins, the gate vibrates with such speed that passage is impossible; otherwise it stops for an instant, thus permitting free entry. This gate is of *parapará* wood [*Cordia umbraculifera?*; ẽ'n[e]], for which reason the Tukuna never use this wood for kindling.

As the man entered ta-ẽ''s house, he saw outside two animals, the ɛ̃ɔrẽ'ruma, tethered in a corral. ta-ẽ' made one of them come and lick the man from his heels to the top of his head in order to purify him of his sins. These animals have the body of a tapir and the head of a dolphin. ta-ẽ' looses them to tear apart the soul of a sinner who manages to slip through the gate. As soon as they sight a soul they throw themselves into the waters of the Rio ɛ̃ovatí, which flows through the upper world, swim to the opposite bank, dive in again with a tremendous roar, and return. One hears this roaring on earth; if at the same time a strong thunderclap is heard, then the ɛ̃ɔrẽ'ruma are tearing some soul to bits.

Now in the house of ta-ẽ' there is suspended a large hornets' nest, ma/ẽi' [see p. 62], that was not formerly there. When the assembled souls weep upon receiving a recently arrived soul, ta-ẽ' shakes the nest so that the hornets within raise a buzzing which smothers the outcry, since if this were heard on earth it would cause sickness and wreak havoc there. These are the hornets that sting a person who, even involuntarily, glances at the private parts of a relative of the opposite sex.

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Such are the legends. The idea of heaven as an upper world similar to the earth and with inhabitants like those of the world below is encountered in the legends of the culture-hero brothers relating to the theft of fire (see p. 130) and the origin of languages. These tell how in the old days there was free passage between the two worlds, how this was interrupted, and how thereafter an attempt was made to reëstablish it. All these motives are so common in American mythology that they do not merit further comment.

ta-ë′ *and the souls.*—Quite different, however, is the concept of the most important personage of the upper world, ta-ë′. I do not know of any similar figure in the religion of other tribes. Nothing is known of her origin. She is apparently as ancient as the heaven in which she lives, and is immortal but definitely not omnipotent, nor omniscient, nor infallible. Overburdened with tasks, she may involuntarily cause damage to men through her mistakes. Nothing material in the world was created by her, nor does she govern anything; therefore she is neither the "Common Mother" nor the "Primary Mother" in Baldus' terminology.

Prayers are not directed to her, nor does she receive sacrifices. She has nothing to do directly with the culture-hero brothers, who equal her in importance, or with the spirits of the trees or the demons (ńɔɔ′) of the lower world. No shaman is in communication with her. Nevertheless, for the Tukuna she is a figure of great importance and respect, because of her inseparable connection with the notion of sin and subsequent punishment, in life or after death, since she is the mistress of that part of the human soul called "naa′ë." With the other part of the soul, called "načii′" (shade of the deceased), she has nothing to do.

ta-ë′ does not represent a divine justice that tots up the sins and good deeds of the soul. She takes into consideration only three categories of crime: incest, infanticide (including voluntary abortion), and murder through witchcraft. She does not bother with such trifles as theft or a hot-blooded killing. Incest (vɔ:′mači) is a transgression of the law of exogamy which she established when she taught the first men to which clan each belonged, making them taste the jacuruxy broth (see pp. 58 and 130); this was the only time, however, that she intervened in the work of the culture heroes. Incest is the only crime for which ta-ë′ eventually punishes the sinner, by madness while he is still living.

I have already discussed the fate of an infanticide's soul (p. 69). When the soul of a sorcerer appears before ta-ë′, she treats it in the same fashion as she does that of an infanticide; in fact, the three sins mentioned above are considered almost equal. The gravity of a crime depends upon whether the sin was committed thoughtlessly and with some extenuating circumstances, and whether it is repeated.

If there are extenuating circumstances, the sinner is purified by one of the čorë′ruma, which licks him from toe to crown. However, even if the naa′ë of a perverse and stubborn sinner slips past the tɔ/ri′ta gate, it is torn to shreds by the čorë′ruma or rejected by ta-ë′, who orders lightning to cast it down on the earth again, or even sends it below to the underworld (na:′pį), where it is transformed into a tiny frog (nʊ:′gʊ), with whose death it vanishes.

It is noteworthy that the Tukuna regard as crimes these three sins which not only harm the individual but are also ruinous for humanity as a whole: "Thou

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Mond und Sterne und auch die Menschen, letztere aus Erde." It is clear that this description refers to the Christian God, not to a personage of the ancient religion.

Even today the Tukuna regard the Jewish peddlers, who sometimes appear in their territory, as the direct descendants of the legendary dyure'u, believing them to be tailed, or that at least one of them[13] is so adorned.

The souls.—The naa'ẽ or soul is, according to an expression of the shaman Calixto daueru'kị, "what we think" (or thought)."[14] This type of soul is given the fetus while it is still within the womb; if ta-ẽ' is careless, the child is born spiritually defective.

Dreams are the adventures of the soul, and in them the soul of a wicked sorcerer may commit his crimes in far-off places. The soul, not the body, is responsible for our acts. Its abandonment of the body causes death, after which the soul normally returns to heaven.

The shades of the dead.—Quite different from the role of the naa'ẽ is that of man's second soul, the načii'. Nevertheless, I have repeatedly gained the impression that the Indians do not always distinguish the two clearly. The načii' is the shade of the dead. It "is of no importance," the Tukuna told me; it remains on earth near the place where the individual died. At abandoned house sites (taperas) the načii' congregate, preferably assuming the forms of nocturnal swallows, bacuráos (*Caprimulgus* sp.), but also sometimes those of toads or other creatures. Ribeiro de Sampaio probably referred to this belief when he wrote: "In their philosophy they profess the miserable dogma of metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration of souls to another body, even to irrational [*sic*] ones."[15] Most of the time, however, a man's načii' appears in the exact form he had in life, only betraying its nature by certain whimsical habits. The načii' are moderately dangerous, owing to their mania for sucking blood, flesh, and bones of living people, so as to leave only the empty skin. In the Tukuna idiom this is called "to put the genipapo on someone," because of the black color of the marks left by sucking. A few legends will give a better idea of the načii''s habits.

duẽ' and the načii'

An Indian named duẽ' went out to hunt deep in the jungle; he saw that he was near a house he recognized, in which he thought to spend the night. Dusk was falling when he reached it and found it deserted. The ground inside the house was already covered with mould. The inhabitants had gone fishing on Lake Curanã [between the Igarapé de São Jeronymo and the Solimões], where the Omágua attacked them, killing everyone. duẽ' climbed up under the roof of the house to spend the night there, but just as it turned completely dark he heard on the path the cries of many swallows, which began to talk among themselves in the human language. They were the shades of the murdered people of the house, which had returned home. "Daughter," he heard a woman say, "go up to the loft and fetch a little maize so that we may prepare mingau!" Soon the girl, in the form of a swallow, came up by the motá [i.g. for notched-log ladder] to the platform where duẽ' lay prone. He seized her and commenced to tear out her feathers.

"Come quickly, my daughter!" said the mother. "I cannot," answered the girl swallow. "This man here is plucking out my feathers!" Then duẽ' threw her down from the platform to the floor, where she died; then he pulled the ladder up beside him. The shades gathered round the dead swallow. "We shall put the genipapo marks on this fellow!" they cried. They searched all around

[13] The sense of the passage indicates that these Jewish peddlers travel in pairs.—Trans.
[14] The word means "judgment"; ku ñẽ a'ẽ, "thou hast no judgment."
[15] Ribeiro de Sampaio, § 212.

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the house for all the lumps of clay and piled them on top of each other in front of the loft, so that they could mount the pile, but when it was almost high enough, dʊ̈ʼ knocked it down with his blowgun. "A snake! a snake!" shrieked the načiiʼ, scattering, full of fear. Then they tried to make a new pile, but dʊ̈ʼ knocked it down again with his blowgun. Thus they tried all night. When day was dawning, dʊ̈ʼ took his blowgun and quiver and started to climb down from the loft. The shades, taking the blowgun for a snake and the quiver for a hornets' nest [cf. p. 111] fled, terrified, in the form of newts, opossums, and toads.

dʊ̈ʼ at the Feast of the načiiʼ

The same dʊ̈ʼ decided one day to go to a long-uninhabited tapera, to gather *ucuʼ* fruits. His wife wished to accompany him, but he would not let her, for he knew that there were shades of the dead at that very place. Gathering the fruits, he delayed more than he intended, and, as the sun was already low, he resolved to pass the night at the tapera. Quickly he made a shelter with the leaves of the numerous bacabeiras growing around the place, since a heavy rain was approaching. When this had passed and darkness had set in, he heard a noise of many people approaching. They were the shades of the dead coming to the site where the house once stood, and suddenly dʊ̈ʼ realized that he was there once again in the house as he had been in former days.

Soon the shades of the dead began their celebration. The musical instruments sounded. dʊ̈ʼ was pleased with the antics and decided to participate. He had eaten *cupé* [a wild chocolate, *Theobroma* sp.]; now he took the seeds which remained in the membranous and viscous hulls, gluing the hulls to his body and penis, and in this disguise began to dance in the midst of the načiiʼ. Seeing him, they cried: "It is a man! He shakes his penis [with the movements of the dance]!" But because of the hulls they dared not touch him. Finally, however, they decided to "paint him with genipapo," but dʊ̈ʼ escaped them, taking refuge in the burrow of a giant armadillo [*tatú canastra; Cheloniscus gigas*].

One of the načiiʼ wished to dig him out, but when he had almost reached dʊ̈ʼ, the Indian rattled his quiver. His pursuer, thinking that the noise was that of a hornets' nest, fled. Another načiiʼ tried to finish digging him out, but dʊ̈ʼ, with the same trick, made him scamper away, as he did all the rest, too, who dared try it. Suddenly, at dawn the house again vanished, and the shades, transformed into little animals, dispersed in all directions.

The Old Woman and the načiiʼ

An old woman whose son had died went with her four daughters to an abandoned house site in order to fish with timbó in the igarapé near by. They placed their catch on a smoking grill; at dusk they slung their hammocks among some near-by bacabeira trees and fell asleep. Awakening after some time, they discovered with dread that their hammocks were hanging in a large ceremonial house where there were many people dancing. At first the old woman was embarrassed and remained seated with her daughters; finally, however, she took from the grill a package of leaves containing small *fry* and offered it to one of those present. He, however, answered: "Give it to that one!" She went with the gift to the person indicated, but he sent her to a third, who gave her the same answer. Then the old woman replaced the package on the grill, again sitting down next to her daughters, since she recognized that she was dealing with the shades of the dead.

Meanwhile, a načiiʼ in a corner spoke to the shade of her son, who was also there: "It looks as if that is your mother!" The son went over, recognized her, and they conversed. She offered him the smoked fish, but he explained: "We načiiʼ no longer eat that kind of food!" Then he advised his mother that it would be better if she left; if not, the shades might want to "paint her with genipapo." The old woman, however, objected, saying that she could not walk in the dark. The son then brought her a resin torch, but when the old woman reached out to take it, it moved: it was a snake, for snakes are the torches of the načiiʼ. The old woman shrieked in fear and let fall the torch, whereupon all the shades gathered around, laughing at her. The son remained at her side until, at daybreak, the feast house disappeared and the načiiʼ ran away, transformed into small animals.

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čuta'nena and the načili'

čuta'nena lived with her husband about a day's journey from her parents' house. She had two sons, of whom the younger was gravely ill. Because of this she decided to take him to her father so that he could cure the child. Since her husband did not wish to accompany her or permit her to leave the older boy with him, čuta'nena set off with both children. It was already very late when she arrived at her father's house, which she found abandoned, for the Omágua had slain all the inhabitants five days before. 775 539

Willy-nilly, čuta'nena with her two sons had to spend the night in the deserted house. When it had grown dark, she heard the inhabitants arriving. Her father came at the head of the file. They all looked exactly like living people. The father greeted his daughter, who asked him to cure his little grandson. Suddenly she noticed that the last persons to arrive were bringing a large quantity of bamboo leaves, which are the fish of the načili'. She asked her mother what they were going to do with all those leaves, and received the answer: "Well, aren't they fish?"

At the same time she heard the quiriá, with which a woman was crushing sweet manioc, singing in a human voice: "čuta'nena čanⁱ nya-a nya-a!" [referring to čuta'nena's privates], which made her uneasy. Meanwhile her father ordered her to fetch him tobacco, of which he thrust a wad in each cheek. Then he uttered his magic formula and began to suck at the sick child. He sucked its ribs and completely emptied its skin. Suddenly he fell backward and, with trembling knees, sang in a guttural voice: "I died a long time ago!" [See p. 104.]

The son was already dead. Then čuta'nena wondered how she might escape. She told her father that the older boy had diarrhoea and that it was necessary to take him into the bush, whereupon the old man replied: "Go, my daughter!" She took a lighted torch, which she placed on end in the jungle at a spot visible to the shades, and in spite of the darkness went with the boy toward her own house. As soon as she arrived, she told her husband of her adventure. He then called his friends, and all went together to bury the child's body. They found it completely black with the "genipapo" of the načili'. After burying it they returned home.

The Underworld

The most ancient beings of the world are the demons, ñɔɔ'. This is also the most insulting name used among the Tukuna. Some demons belong to one of numerous clans, others are merely isolated individuals. They are not immortal, though many have powers making them superior, or at least dangerous, to men. Their appearance, as represented in certain masks, is almost always strange and terrible. Sometimes they are represented in human form; their nature, however, revealed involuntarily, is completely different from that of human beings. 772 776

Some of these demons dwell right here on earth; others, like the dyure'u, in heaven. But the great majority live in subterranean lands (na:'pɨ), to which they have access by caverns. The subaquatic regions are part of this underworld, which comprises various lands with different conditions and separate entrances. The demons are not their sole inhabitants; other residents are human, although with strange defects: blind men, dwarfs, people without an anus. Information on the subject is given in the following legend of čɔë'.

čɔë' in the Underworld

The Tukuna čɔë' was hunting in the jungle, in order to accumulate the necessary game for a feast he was going to celebrate. He made a little hut, with a platform on which he deposited the smoked game, covering it with leaves, then he again went into the jungle. 539 776

Meanwhile, in spite of his efforts, the pile of smoked meat never grew larger, and it even diminished. He lay in wait, and at midnight he saw the foreleg of a jaguar that was stealing the meat. čɔë' told his companions what he had seen, and added: "Tomorrow I'm going to cut off

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since even the dove motif, which so easily penetrates foreign mythologies, is not found in the Tukuna legends. 773 [177]

Legends of Celestial Bodies and Related Phenomena

The sun.—The slight importance the Indians attach to celestial bodies is worthy of note. Of the sun they told me that it was hot to the point of charring anyone who approached it, and that its headdress was a crown of red macaw tail feathers similar to that used today by a virgin at her puberty festival. I have seen the sun represented in this fashion three times, by a mask with a face carved in wood and with human, not demoniacal, features. There is a legend called "The Canoe of the Sun" (ɟakɟ'-ve'i-ṅ), but, try as I might, I did not succeed in recording more than a fragment. There is no longer anyone who can recite the entire story. 773 821

The Canoe of the Sun

A solitary youth was fishing when the Sun arrived in a canoe and asked him if he had caught anything. The boy answering in the negative, the Sun invited him to join him, since they should have caught something by this time. The youth sat in the prow while the Sun steered. The Sun asked him which was the "Pathway of the Sun." Thus the youth realized that he was in the Sun's company, although the Sun had made the boy insensible to the heat. They paddled along. The boy thought that they were still paddling down here [on the earth] but they were already up there [in the sky]. A pirarucú this long [1 m.] appeared. The Sun seized the fish, threw it into the canoe, and baked it with his heat. 539

Some time later they halted in order to eat lunch in the canoe. The youth finished his share first. The Sun invited him to eat more, but the boy was obliged to decline with thanks. The Sun ordered him to bend his head forward, and then slapped him on the back of the head. At once a great number of cockroaches fell out of the boy. "That was the reason that you felt stuffed," said the Sun. The boy regained his appetite. They ate the entire fish. The Sun collected the scales and bones, put the fish together again, and threw it alive into the water.

The shaman Geraldo sent the soul of the murdered sorcerer ʊ'iru to the "Canoe of the Sun" to be burned. [775]

The moon and stars.—Lunar eclipses are caused by the moon's meeting the demon vẹ"kɟẽa of the Jaguar clan, who battles with her. The word "vẹ"kɟẽa" is used for a hook made of a special wood in the form of an N, from which household implements (especially kitchen utensils) are suspended. The vẹ"kɟẽa of the heavens is Orion. The story of the terrestrial vẹ"kɟẽa and the incident which justifies his name of "hook" is related in the legend of čimɟdyuë' (pp. 148 ff.). If the jaguar in the eclipse should kill the moon, mankind would die; for this reason it is necessary that people aid the moon, scaring away her adversary with as much noise as possible. 821 773 789

I myself witnessed an attempt of this sort during the eclipse of August 25 and 26, 1942. As soon as the Indians were aware of the phenomenon—directly after the eclipse began—an alarm broke out that spread from house to house, up and down the igarapé, reaching to the inhabitants of the banks of the Solimões. Some beat with paddles on the keels of overturned, beached canoes; others belabored with the backs of their machetes a large plank resting on a support; others shot off firearms. Nino ẹvẽnɟ"kɟ, in whose house I was staying, seriously explained to his children what was taking place. The noise continued until the moon was completely free of the earth's shadow.

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undergo a ceremony performed by some competent shaman, who seeks mainly to protect them from the soul of the murdered witch.

RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY

The upper world.—The upper world, which is much lower than the stars, is divided into two parts. One is inhabited by men, who are like Indians, but live under very different conditions. The other is the residence of the goddess Taé (Our Mother) and of the souls of the deceased (naáe) who have been righteous. On their way to the upper world, souls must pass through a sort of gate made of two wooden posts which move back and forth in opposite directions and exclude the souls of incestuous persons, infanticides, murderers, and evil sorcerers. If, however, an evil soul reaches the residence of Taé, she releases two fantastically shaped monsters which demolish it, or else she throws it back to earth, where it becomes a small frog and eventually dies. Taé orders her monsters to purify the souls of occasional sinners by licking them from head to feet. An infanticide's soul has to appear before Taé with the body of the child across his mouth and eat it as a pap.

Taé is not all-powerful, and makes some careless mistakes. She is not the creator and has no connection with the two culture heroes, who equal her in importance, nor with demons, tree spirits, priests, or shamans. But the *Tucuna* greatly respect her because of her close connection with the punishment of sin, both during and after life, and her role as mistress of that part of the soul called naáë (thought, sense).

The other part of the human soul (natcii) is manifest after death as the "shadow of the deceased." It haunts old house sites and takes a human shape at night but at dawn is transformed into some small animal. It is somewhat feared because of its desire to suck one's blood and eat one's flesh and bones, leaving only the empty skin. Brave and smart people, however, easily fool it.

The lower world.—The oldest beings in the world are the demons of the underworlds (naáe); some are grouped in many clans, and others are unaffiliated. Though mortal, many are superior to or are very dangerous to men. Their appearance, represented in certain masks, is usually strange and horrible, though they sometimes assume human shape. Most of them live in different kinds of underground and subaquatic regions (nápi), which are entered through caves. Certain nápi are inhabited by anthropomorphic beings with strange defects, such as blind men, dwarfs, and men without anuses.

The most important subaquatic demons are the dyévae, who have the shape of gigantic silurides or ophidians. One, the master of fishes, shows itself in the eastern rainbow. Another, the master of potter's clay, appears